20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

[57] [657] [251] men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with [342] the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs [353] screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and [251] shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutri- [252] tion clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, [251] made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and [294] a second place at the state fair.[29]

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[657] Schools for the education of the Indian children of the [871] Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: govern- [874] ment boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has [797] become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

[648] The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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[113] [113] 29. McCown, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1871, 220.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1876), 23-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1879, 68; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 186.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

657 to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend
87L school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort
[186] Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily
[874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocaticnal courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort
657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government
87 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm
874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill
242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38]

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year.

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 18, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1890, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 85, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 871 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [874] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 871 657 658 For a few years the government increased annually the subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS. Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 851, and 1908, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 58.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.58; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa children have attended public schools. The long range policy of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was generally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the white population was sparse and generally in poor economic condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 But the movement to the public schools required time.
871 Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new
[177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the fol-
657 lowing years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and un-
871 desirables in the government schools, the agency removed
177 the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

871 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fif-
153 teen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of
657 the same age group under similar circumstances. Children
871 in the public schools do not get as much vocational training
874 nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl
657 opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-
871 thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in
[658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Bonnin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.
47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

50. Nye, *op. cit.*, 341-342, from reminiscences of W. H. Quinette.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1856, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, Ibid.

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

115 159 177 797 872 [212] They teach us the men. We all sitting around there. When she tell us how Jesus was born, we just laugh and act silly and our matron would say, "Don't laugh." Then we ask her, "Did you see the baby?" You know, things like that . . . the older girls and us ask her questions like that. We just laugh about it. All the time we thought it was silly for them not to go and see the baby when it was born. Yeah, we learn how to write and learn how to spell, and arithmetic and whatever they learn us. We caught onto it. Then the government wrote a letter to our superintendent and said to send a bunch of them over there and they went to school up there for about three years and they come back and they were grown and they all got married, but I didn't go. My mother wouldn't sign the papers and my dad wouldn't let me go. "No, we don't want her to go up there. She might run off or she'll freeze to death or somebody might kill her on the road." So a bunch of us girls, we didn't go. And a bunch of them went. My brothers went. They were younger than I and they went. And my mother said, "No, she's not going, but you boys could go. Boys are tougher than the girls." That what she told my brothers and so they went. I didn't care nothing about it either way.

During the summer vacations she would return to her home, which at that time was situated along Chandler Creek in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

115 159 241 I never did go places because we didn't have no places to go in them days . . . no cars or nothing. When we come out of school we just stay home all summer. Help my father with the work and everything he's got. He had lots of crops. My brothers cultivate that corn. I have to ride the horse for them and keep it on the row because the corn was so high that the horse would keep eating back and forth and my father would make me ride that horse to keep him on that line so he won't be eating the tops of the corn. They take turns, three of my brothers, while I be riding that horse all day, all day. In the morning we go plow till noon and then we go to dinner and then we go back and plow again till we get through with it. My father used to teach us to work, you know.

115 159 593 756 868 824 It was during summer vacation prior to her last year at school that Sanapia's mother offered to train her to become a doctor. Sanapia was reticent at first, but combined pressure from her mother and maternal grandmother persuaded her to at least consent to the first phases of this training program, that of learning to identify in their natural habitat the various floral medicines which her mother used in doctoring.

The Middle Years

115 159 756 868 [871] [582] Sanapia left school when she was fourteen years old, and her activities for the next three years were in the main involved with the training program her mother and uncle had established to teach Sanapia all she would need to know to become an eagle doctor. By her seventeenth year Sanapia had successfully completed her training and possessed all the skills, knowledge, and supernatural powers which she would employ in doctoring after she passed menopause. During the period of training her mother had dissuaded her from marriage so that she would

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1878, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.

[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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136 By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held [224] out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

[223] Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens [226] were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

[263] Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and [261] Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starv- [609] ing. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

000 I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

561 Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but 571 sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the old- 657 er men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators 871 of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating 177 young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of hu- 155 man behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

[191] Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certainly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or $200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for *"to-o-pac."* (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been *"pina"* for "sugar four bits," *"hocoon"* for "matches five cents," *"mo-be-po-dra"* for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, *"Heepet?"* or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject.

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old—a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong—neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

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657 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They
871 kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't
171 run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerfull' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

" 'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in
871 the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

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the school trail and who softened the emotional jolt on the little ones. 657
But it must still have been a terrible shock for any young child to be 871
taken from his camp home and hauled by hack and train to faraway places, there to be tossed neck and heels into the white man's way of life and forced to eat his food . . . sleep alone in bed . . . and learn life from his books.

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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of 648
mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, 726
would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is defi- 657
nitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, con- 871
cerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade terri- 191
tory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English 871
and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in- 657
law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister 657
and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I be- 871
lieve, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

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657 1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arap-
871 aho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

[734] As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was
657 praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place
871 students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German
464 farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

657 A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882,
871 states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than
551 the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the
593 date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were
[595] born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently
152 did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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726 Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain [657] Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later, [871] was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from [136] game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women [562] in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the [701] battles.

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But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

By the time the town started holding races the following summer, Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, painted and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

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GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162 Population:
- Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation: 3,300

162 Labor Force:
464
- Total: 551
- Unemployed: 125
- Unemployment rate: 23%

871 Education:
(tribal estimates)
- Average grade level achieved: 9th
- Number graduated from college in 1972: 11